

E. LEWIS, FULTON

13 December 1957

ALWD/are

MEMORANDUM FOR THE DIRECTOR:

1. This memorandum is for information only:
2. There are 26 clippings in our files (newspaper and broadcasts) covering references to CIA by Fulton Lewis, Jr., during the period, January, 1950, to December 1957. Fourteen of them contain derogatory remarks about CIA. In contrast there are 14 attacks against RFE in two months of 1957.
3. Of the eight United States intelligence agencies represented on the IAC only two of them, the CIA and the State Department, have been subjected to derogatory remarks by Lewis in these clippings. CIA has been attacked 14 times and the State Department 4 times.
4. There has been no direct "name" criticism of the others; in one case, (17 December 1951) Lewis said all intelligence agencies "except the FBI" (underlining furnished) "are cluttered with incompetents and others more closely aligned to Communist ideology". It can only be inferred whether he intended to include in this indictment, the Air Force, the Army, the Navy, the Joint Chiefs of Staff, and the AECIs intelligence units.
5. In the period of almost eight years covered by these 26 clippings there has been no single overt criticism of the FBI. Whether he did such criticism of the FBI in other of his columns or broadcasts is not of record in this office. Four of Lewis' columns could be referred to as implying criticism of the FBI:
(1) His attack on Samuel Klaus (18 January 1952) suggests that the FBI could be penetrated by Communists; (2) Two criticisms of the escape of the Russian sailors at Idlewild Airport (April, 1956) does not mention FBI but could be interpreted to contain a reflection on the competency of that agency charged with responsibility of domestic intelligence and domestic security. (3) A "friendly" comment

-2-

on the FBI (January, 1956) which could be taken as damaging to the FBI. Lewis in criticism of CIA states there is "no real way" for Congress or other higher authority to investigate CIA, and he, Lewis, recommends FBI absorb CIA. It would seem to be more difficult for the Government to investigate the FBI than for it to investigate CIA. In recent years there has been no record of an investigation of the FBI; in contrast, from 1948 to 1956 the CIA has been investigated at least five times: (1) Dulles-Jackson-Correa survey, 1948-49; (2) Hoover Commission Eberstadt Task Force, 1948-49; (3) Hoover Commission Clark Task Force, 1954-55; (4) the Doolittle survey committee, 1954-55; and (5) the President's Board, 1956 to date.

6. While 14 of the 26 Lewis statements contain derogatory remarks about CIA, three of the 14 might be interpreted as "friendly" comments on CIA, even though they probably contain an animus of tone against CIA. For example, he seems to praise the adequacy of CIA's intelligence reporting when he relies on CIA to "prove" that: (1) there are 32 foreign espionage agents in the UN, Soviet and otherwise (Jan. 18, 1950); (2) the Cuban rebels are "tainted with Communism"; (3) that certain "Latin American Bigwigs" convening in Ciudad Trujillo were criticizing the U. S. for giving haven to a certain Venezuelan in Puerto Rico (October 1957). Actually in these 3 cases he seems to be using CIA incidentally to attack the U. S. Government.

7. Most of the 14 derogatory statements about CIA contain criticisms not of CIA's intelligence reporting but of its alleged clandestine operations: (1) CIA's "commercial operations" in the Far East (April 1956); (2) CIA's "CAT" interest, broadcast, November, 1957; (3) its tie-up with RFE operations (4, columns or broadcasts); and (4) CIA's alleged counter-espionage operations against

-3-

the Russian sailors at Idlewild (2 columns, April 1956).

8. While CIA is the principal target, among the U. S. intelligence agencies attacked by Lewis (to the extent of 14 columns and broadcasts out of 26 clipped), the RFE seems to be even more the principal target of Lewis (with or without a CIA tie-up), especially--and principally--since early October 1957.

9. RFE is, indeed, attacked no less than 14 times in 2 months (exactly as many as the 14 times that CIA was attacked in 8 years--since way back in January 1950). The RFE, furthermore, is identified with CIA only 4 times out of the 14 attacks. In at least one other case RFE is tied up, instead, with the State Department--on Oct. 4, 1957, which was the beginning of his recent campaign against RFE.

10. It appears that, when it is convenient for Lewis to cite CIA's intelligence reporting to his momentary advantage, he does so, while at other times he simply attacks the U. S. or the State Department for this or that use of Communists abroad, without mentioning CIA. His attacks might ultimately be addressed, not to CIA or State or RFE alone, but at the policy of using Communists abroad in the cold war with the Soviet Union.

11. These evaluations on Lewis's "line" are partially speculative, because they are based only on a small fraction of his known public writings--that is, on only about 26 statements covering almost eight years. In contrast, during these eight years Lewis has made no less than 3,000 nightly broadcasts on Mutual Broadcasting System, and he has, in addition, published an extensive number of miscellaneous writings in a variety of magazines, including "little known" periodicals, "right-wing" leaflets and handouts.

12. In Lewis's commentary taken as a whole, there are four possible motives:

a. Zeal to attack Communist influence and governmental inefficiency.

-4-

b. A desire to destroy CIA in its present form.

c. A desire to replace CIA with another means of carrying out its present functions.

d. A political motive associated with Mr. Lewis's right-wing views.

13. They are not mutually exclusive and might be accepted in any combination.

14. Lewis's motives might be "pure" as respecting CIA and RFE. The RFE attacks in particular might be interpreted as stemming simply from Lewis's distress at finding Communists and Communist influence in this organization. Lewis finds that Communist influence in RFE is compounded by inefficiency on the part of "Rover Boys". This is a sort of thing that any columnist would be likely to deplore if he believed that it existed. There are also accusations of Communist influence and of "Rover Boy" inefficiency in CIA--refuge for children of good families seeking thrills.

15. Lewis's attacks are primarily destructive--almost never constructive. He constantly refers to corruption within the Agency but claims he cannot specify what it is because of the security blanket surrounding CIA, which prevents him from finding out. He would have Congress remove this blanket and bring everything about CIA out into the open. Lewis is not ignorant or naive. He knows perfectly well that if his recommendations were carried out in toto, CIA, as such, would be severely damaged or destroyed. Likewise, his obvious attempts to stop contributions of "Truth Dollars," plus his objections to the use of taxes (through CIA) to support the Crusade for Freedom, suggest that he would like to see the whole RFE complex put out of business.

16. As to a replacement for CIA, there would seem to me to be two possibilities. Although Lewis claims that a Congressional "watchdog" committee (of which is en-

-5-

thusiastically in favor) would in no way interfere with CIA's activities, this would be hard to reconcile either with his insistence on bringing CIA's activities into the open, or with his complaints about the way in which CIA has been run. It is conceivable, if improbable, that Lewis might have contemplated placing CIA, in effect, under Congress, where "reliable" senators like Welker, McCarthy, et al., would have been enabled to see that it was properly handled. Or it might be that Lewis's preference for Congressional supervision had to do more with the general idea of preventing the Executive from retaining exclusive jurisdiction over what might become a powerful instrument of state (Gestapo, NKVD, etc.).

17. The other possibility is the FBI. It is true that Lewis refers directly to this possibility only twice, and then with a certain indirection (which might, however, be purposeful). What Lewis's suggestions regarding FBI control of CIA come down to would seem to be something like the following: CIA is bad and Communist-ridden, while the FBI is good and is free from such influences. The FBI operates only at home but has proved that it can operate successfully abroad. (Oddly enough, Lewis does not directly mention this latter point, but he must know what the FBI did during the war and that it continues to conduct some foreign operations.) Meanwhile, Lewis says that he cannot see why the U. S. has to have two "intelligence" agencies. If the U. S. were going to have only one of these two, it is abundantly obvious which one Lewis would choose. Whether there is any relationship between Mr. Lewis and Mr. Hoover, I should have no way of knowing, but the facts of CIA history show pretty clearly that Hoover was not happy when CIG- CIA was formed and was unwilling to have FBI foreign operations abolished in favor of Central Intelligence. Hoover's attitude since the formation of CIA may have given less than whole-hearted cooperation or a desire to see the new


-6-

enterprise succeed.

18. Lewis is only one of several who share his general point of view who have shown no friendliness toward CIA. Some examples: Senator McCarthy, Westbrook Pegler, The American Mercury, The National Review. There is no evidence the groups represented have any sort of cohesiveness, including an agreed plan of attack.

19. Since Lewis has criticized CIA fourteen times in almost eight years and has criticized Radio Free Europe fourteen times in two months it seems reasonable to believe that his principal target is RFE and that CIA is a secondary target at this time.

STAT


STANLEY J. GROGAN
Assistant to the Director

cc: DDCI
IG
IO
CI
Dir/Sec
DEP